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M ANNAEI LUCANI PHARSALIAE

LIBER PRIMUS

EDITED WITH ENGLISH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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ADVERTISEMENT

THIS little volume, prepared as an experiment, needs no preface. The Editors have had before them the editions of Oudendorp Weber and Weise, with several others for occasional reference. But the notes are in the main their own, and have been written by them in concert, Mr Haskins supplying the bulk of the matter, and prefixing thereto a chronological table and an abstract of the contents of the book. Mr Heitland has supplied the life of Lucan and remarks on the Pharsalia which form the Introduction, and has also made an Index to the notes. It may be added that brevity has been studied throughout.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 1875.

LIFE OF LUCAN.

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus was born at Corduba[1], the capital of the province of Baetica in Spain, in the year 39 A.D. His father was M. Annaeus Mela[2], a Roman Knight and well-known as the brother of L. Annaeus Seneca the Stoic philosopher: his mother was C. Acilia[3], daughter of Acilius Lucanus an orator of some note. While yet an infant he was taken by his father to Rome, where he received the best education that the capital of the world could afford. It is said that he studied under the famous grammarian Remmius Palaemon and the Stoic Cornutus. Among his chief friends were Saleius Bassus the epic poet and A. Persius Flaccus the satirist, who were at this time his fellow-pupils under the celebrated masters named above. Our author is said to have displayed his powers at a very early age, and to have been fully aware of his own precocity[4]. Declamations and panegyrical poems seem to have employed his first efforts: he soon gave recitations, and drew great applause from his hearers. His rising talent attracted the notice of Nero[5], who was in the early years of his reign a generous patron of literature: the young poet sang the praises of the young emperor, and was advanced by him to the quaestorship though not of age for that office, and afterwards

[1] Mart. I. 61, Sueton. *fragm.* 10, Statius, *Silv.* II. vii. 24 foll. Cf. also Mart. VII. 22.

[2] Tac. *Ann.* XVI. 17.

[3] *Ib.* XV. 56.

[4] Sueton. *fragm.* 10.

[5] *Ib.* 10. It is to be remembered that Nero was a pupil of Lucan's uncle Seneca.

to the augural priesthood. Thus far his career had been one of unbroken success: but it was soon his misfortune to offend the emperor[1] in some way or other. Nero seems to have shewn a rival's jealousy[2] of the poetic reputation of Lucan, and the latter retaliated by making a scoff of the imperial verses, and even by composing libellous epigrams on them and their author. The *Pharsalia*, on which he had lately been engaged, and which he had begun with extravagant praise of Nero, seems to have now changed its tone: denunciations of tyranny are inserted here and there, and lines that seem to convey dark hints of coming change. We learn from Tacitus that the Emperor had forbidden him to recite in public[3]: this was more than the spirit of the haughty young Stoic could brook, and being a man of considerable wealth[4] he withdrew to his beautiful gardens there to brood over his wrong. In the latter part of the year 64 a conspiracy[5] was formed against Nero, the leading spirits in which were one of the consuls for the following year and some officers of the imperial guard. At its head was placed C. Calpurnius Piso[6], a man of illustrious birth and good abilities, in fact the most eminent of the Roman nobles. But whatever strength the conspirators may have gained from the traditional rivalry of the Pisos with the imperial house was more than neutralized by the easy weakness of their leader's character. Such was the plot to which Lucan and other men of note became parties. The assassination of Nero was to have been effected early in the year 65, but the plan taken up in haste was not carried through with energy[8]; the existence of a conspiracy was soon betrayed[9] to the agents of the emperor: and an accident presently revealed the names of some of its members[10]. These when arrested made disclosure of the names of the others[11], and thus the whole scheme col-

[1] Sueton. *fragm.* 10. [2] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 49. Sueton. *fragm.* 10.
[3] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 49.
[4] *Ib.* xvi. 17. Juv. vii. 79, with Prof. Mayor's notes.
[5] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 48, 49. [6] *Ib.* xv. 48.
[7] *Ib.* xv. 49. Sueton. *fragm.* 10. [8] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 50, 52, 53.
[9] *Ib.* xv. 51. [10] *Ib.* xv. 54, 55. [11] *Ib.* xv. 56.

lapsed. Among the first taken was Lucan, and to him as to others false offers of forgiveness were addressed in order to extort from him the names of accomplices. Here the young poet failed to act up to his Stoic training[1]: under the fear of death his constancy gave way, and after holding out for a while he charged his own mother Acilia with a share in the plot. But neither this nor a string of confessions[2] which followed could save him: he was soon like the rest condemned to die, the mode of death being left to his own choice. Accordingly he nerved himself for his end, went into a hot bath and had his veins opened[3]: there he calmly bled to death in the same way as many other Romans of mark did in those days of tyranny when suicide was the only refuge from despair. While the life-blood ran from him he is said to have repeated aloud some appropriate lines from his own great poem (IX. 811—814):

> sanguis erant lacrimae: quaecunque foramina novit
> humor, ab his largus manat cruor: ora redundant
> et patulae nares: sudor rubet: omnia plenis
> membra fluunt venis: totum est pro vulnere corpus.

Thus died Lucan; and his uncle Seneca and his father Mela[4] were involved in the same ruin. His wife, the beautiful and virtuous Polla Argentaria[5] to whom he had been tenderly attached, survived him many years: and to her were addressed in memory of her husband some short epigrams of Martial, and the long and over-drawn panegyric of Statius.

Viewing the events of Lucan's life as a whole we may fairly point to the life of Naevius as in many respects parallel. The earlier poet sang of the first Punic war, in which he had when a youth taken part; the young enthusiast of the decadence tells of the great civil struggle just past, the effects of which were still felt and seen: bold in the choice of a main subject, both handled it with a vigour for which they likewise found

[1] *Ib.* XV. 56. Sueton. *fragm.* 10. [2] Tac. *Ann.* XV. 57.

[3] *Ib.* XV. 70. Sueton. *fragm.* 10.

[4] Tac. *Ann.* XV. 60—64, XVI. 17.

[5] Statius *Silv.* II. vii. 81—88, 120—131. Mart. VII. 21, 23.

vent in scurrilous invective: and as the great houses of the commonwealth, lashed by the Saturnians of Naevius, worked the ruin of their assailant, so an imperial tyrant, stung by jealousy and incensed at the freedom of Lucan, destroyed him through his own rashness. Indeed, looking at the long-lived popularity of the poems of Naevius, one is almost tempted to ask, May not our poet have caught some of his reckless frankness from an early study of and admiration for the writings of his great forerunner?

THE PHARSALIA.

A. *Spirit of the Poem.*

In the composition of the *Pharsalia*, Lucan was subject to two powerful influences: the one his devotion to the Senate as the representative of the wealthy and cultivated class to which he himself belonged; the other his attachment to the principles of the Stoic philosophy, in which he had been brought up. Wishing then to see the Senate more fully recognized as the source of the imperial power, and drawing boldness of speech from his Stoic training, he takes the Senate[1] for his hero. By a skilful manipulation of history he manages to make Pompeius stand out in the character of its champion[2] and leader; while Cato was ready to his hand as a type of the ideal Stoic. On them accordingly are lavished all the poet's praises and lamentations: no pains are spared to represent them as men great in their public, good in their private life: the fidelity and tender love of husband and wife is in either case pourtrayed by Lucan with a pathos to which, but for these passages[3], we should have deemed him a stranger. Caesar, on the contrary, is the unscrupulous demagogue and soldier of fortune, hating the nobles, courting the mob, reckless of bloodshed, boundless in his ambition. As his supporter, Curio plays the second part[4], an unprincipled traitor who sells his country for the gold of Caesar. Fate—and here we see the

[1] See II. 532, 566, IV. 801, V. 7—49, VII. 578—585.
[2] See V. 14. [3] See II. 338—349, V. 739—790.
[4] See IV. 798—824, V. 40, I. 269—291.

Stoic—is with them, and they overthrow the party of law and order: the fall of the Senate is followed by the assassination of Pompeius, which, had the author lived to continue his poem, would have been crowned by the suicide of Cato. Meanwhile Curio has met with a well-deserved end in Africa, and over Caesar's head hangs the fated death by the dagger of Brutus[1]. Such in the main is the drift of the *Pharsalia*: but it will be necessary to make mention of one point further, upon which opinions may differ. At the beginning of his poem (I. 33—66) Lucan introduces a studied and fulsome adulation of Nero. The question is, are any of his later utterances inconsistent with this? Do they imply a denunciation of Nero and the empire, or do they not? Dean Merivale[2] maintains that 'it 'must be allowed that the tyrant had already revealed much of 'the evil of his character when the courtier dared to canonize 'his virtues; if the stern republicanism of the poem as it ad-'vances was an after-thought, it cannot be excused on the 'common plea, that the vices of tyranny were undiscovered at 'its commencement. But, after all, this presumed change is a 'gratuitous imputation. To Nero himself, after the opening in-'vocation, there is no farther allusion; and if, as the current of 'his verse rolls on, his appeals to the spirit of liberty and 'denunciations of tyranny become more vehement and frequent, 'we must not suppose that Lucan regarded the principate as a 'tyranny, or, till the last moment of personal pique or indigna-'tion, the prince himself as a tyrant.' Against so great an authority we cannot venture to set a decided opinion; but have thought it worth while to print here a few passages which it seems difficult to interpret in accordance with this view.

(*a*) reflection upon the battle of Pharsalia

> maius ab hac acie, quam quod sua saecula ferrent,
> vulnus habent populi: plus est quam vita salusque
> quod perit: in totum mundi prosternimur aevum:
> vincitur his gladiis omnis quae serviet aetas.
> proxima quid suboles, aut quid meruere nepotes
> in regnun nasci? pavidi num gessimus arma,

[1] See VII. 586—596. [2] *History of the Romans*, c. 54.

texiinus aut jugulos? alieni poena timoris
in nostra cervice sedet. post proelia natis
si dominum, Fortuna, dabas et bella dedisses.

VII. 638—646.

(*b*) apostrophe to Pompeius

non iam Pompeii nomen populare per orbem,
nec studium belli; sed par quod semper habemus
libertas et Caesar erunt: teque inde fugato
ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.

VII. 694—7.

(*c*) of Cato's heroism in the desert

ecce parens verus patriae, dignissimus aris,
Roma, tuis; per quem nunquam iurare pudebit,
et quem, si steteris unquam cervice soluta,
tunc olim factura deum.

IX. 601—4.

(*d*) felices Arabes Medique Eoaque tellus
quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis.
ex populis, qui regna ferunt, sors ultima nostra est,
quos servire pudet.

VII. 442—5.

Such lines as IV. 823—4, in which meaning goes by punctuation, and VIII. 850, where the *pontifex maximus* alluded to may very well not be understood as an emperor holding that office, supply no inference to set against the tendency of these passages. Still against looking for much consistency in Lucan we may be warned by remarking that though a staunch Stoic he breaks out now and then into the despairing cries of Epicurean atheism[1].

[1] With the poem in general and such passages as II. 7—11, IX. 566—584 compare the Epicureanism of II. 12—13, VII. 445—447, 454—455, 487—488.

B. *Manner of the Poem.*

Quintilian[1] happily remarks: 'Lucan has in him a fire and 'vehemence, and sparkles with epigram: in fact, to speak my 'mind of him, he is rather a model for the orator than the poet.' These few thoughtful words exhaust the merits of Lucan's style, and indicate his true place in Roman literature. He lacked the power of imagination needful for the production of really poetic narrative; instead of giving a master-touch to an ordinary statement, and thereby making it his own for ever, he states the fact baldly, or gives it an unnatural prominence by means of tiresome repetition or gross exaggeration. We may well suspect that even had he been imaginative in a high sense he would still have been slovenly. For as we find in him none of the delicate taste in description which we admire in Virgil, so we are sensible of a monotony in his lines strikingly opposed to the variety of pauses and free use of elision which aid the rhythmic movement of the Aeneid. There are two pauses of which Lucan is particularly fond: one is that at the penthemimeral caesura after a weak caesura in the second foot[2]; the other at the hephthemimeral, after a weak one in the third foot[3]. He avoids the use of lines with abnormal caesura, such as Virgil employs with marked effect; elisions too and spondaic endings are rare in his verses. The uniformity produced by such adherence to a few models renders his narrative generally dull, even in parts where the matter possesses a genuine interest of its own: but in the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his characters we feel the monotony less, as we are borne along in the full swing of his declamatory vehemence, and enlivened with a succession of short stinging epigrams (*sententiae*) which strike home and fix themselves in the reader's memory. Our own literature reminds us that the death of imagination is likely to be the birth of epigram: but there was something more than

[1] x. i. 90 *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.*

[2] See I. 72, 114, 126, 167, 226, 289, 291, 331.

[3] See I. 82, 84, 93, 111, 192, 349, 419.

the taste of his day that gave this turn to the style of Lucan. He was brought up with the short and pithy sayings of the Stoics ever in his ears, and no doubt much is to be set down to their effect, not only on his thoughts, but also on the form of their expression. Here was an influence to act as a counterpoise to the rhetoric of the Schools. From this singularly sententious brevity Lucan is like Horace most apt for quotation, but with an important difference in the purposes for which he may be quoted; there is in his sayings an earnestness and moral grandeur to which the pleasure-loving satirist never rises: it may perhaps be more correct to say that Lucan is himself in this respect a satirist, but of another mould than Horace. His spirit is more nearly akin to that of Juvenal. But while noticing the pungent sarcasm which relieves the declamatory flow of the *Pharsalia*, we must not forget the tedious descriptions[1] of places, tribes, military operations, prodigies, priestly and mystic rites, witchcraft, &c., &c., in minute detail; matters unimportant in themselves, and serving only to impede and obscure the action of the poem. But the false taste which caused these to be inserted is not to be set down wholly as Lucan's; it was the taste of the day. This was an age of compilations and common-place books, in a word, the age of the elder Pliny author of the 'Natural History'. Instead of blaming Lucan for putting in these tiresome passages, we ought perhaps rather to be thankful that there are not more of them, that he has not shewn himself more encyclopaedic and less epigrammatical.

[1] See I. 396—465, 526—672, II. 392—438, III. 169—297, VI. 452—569, 667—694, IX. 511—543, 619—733.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

Introduction 1—182.

The subject of the poem 1—7, remonstrance with the citizens 8—32, flattering address to Nero 33—66. The general causes of the civil war 67—97. Particular causes; the deaths of Crassus and Julia; the rivalry between Pompeius and Caesar 98—128; comparison between Pompeius and Caesar 128—157; the corruption of the times 158—182.

Caesar crosses the Rubicon 183—227, and captures Ariminum 228—260. He is met by the expelled tribunes and Curio 261—295. Caesar addresses his soldiers 296—355, he is answered by the centurion Laelius 356—391. Caesar summons his forces from Gaul 392—465; terror in Rome at his approach and flight of the senate 466—522. Prodigies 523—583, expiatory rites and ill-omened sacrifice of Aruns 584—638; the coming disasters are foretold by the astrologer Figulus 639—672 and by a frenzied matron 673—695.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Consulship of Pompeius and Crassus. Caesar invades Britain	55

	B.C.
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Triple triumph of Octavianus	29

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER PRIMUS.

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos
iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra,
cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi viribus orbis
in commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis
signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.
quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri
gentibus invisis Latium praebere cruorem?
cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis
Ausoniis, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta,
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
heu quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari
hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae,
unde venit Titan, et nox ubi sidera condit,
quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat horis,
et qua bruma rigens ac nescia vere remitti
adstringit Scythico glacialem frigore pontum.
sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes,
et gens si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.
tum, si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi,
totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem,

in te verte manus: nondum tibi defuit hostis.
at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
urbibus Italiae, lapsisque ingentia muris
saxa iacent, nulloque domus custode tenentur,
rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat,
horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
Hesperia est, desuntque manus poscentibus arvis,
non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, nec tantis cladibus auctor
Poenus erit: nulli penitus descendere ferro
contigit: alta sedent civilis vulnera dextrae.
quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni
invenere viam, magnoque aeterna parantur
regna deis, caelumque suo servire tonanti
non nisi saevorum potuit post bella Gigantum:
iam nihil, o superi, querimur: scelera ipsa nefasque
hac mercede placent: diros Pharsalia campos
impleat, et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes;
ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda.
his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores
accedant fatis, et quas premit aspera classes
Leucas et ardenti servilia bella sub Aetna:
multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis,
quod tibi res acta est. te, cum statione peracta
astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
excipiet gaudente polo, seu sceptra tenere,
seu te flammigeros Phoebi conscendere currus,
telluremque nihil mutato sole timentem
igne vago lustrare iuvet: tibi numine ab omni
cedetur, iurisque tui natura relinquet,
quis deus esse velis, ubi regnum ponere mundi.
sed neque in Arctoo sedem tibi legeris orbe,
nec polus adversi calidus qua vergitur Austri,
unde tuam videas obliquo sidere Romam.

aetheris immensi partem si presseris unam,
sentiet axis onus. librati pondera caeli
orbe tene medio: pars aetheris illa sereni
tota vacet nullaeque obstent a Caesare nubes.
tunc genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis,
inque vicem gens omnis amet: pax missa per orbem
ferrea belligeri compescat limina Iani.
sed mihi iam numen: nec, si te pectore vates
accipio, Cirrhaea velim secreta moventem
sollicitare deum Bacchumque avertere Nysa.
tu satis ad dandas Romana in carmina vires.

fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
immensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem
impulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi.
invida fatorum series, summisque negatum
stare diu; nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus;
nec se Roma ferens. sic, cum compage soluta
saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora,
antiquum repetent iterum chaos omnia; mixtis
sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
astra petent: tellus extendere litora nolet
excutietque fretum: fratri contraria Phoebe
ibit, et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
indignata diem poscet sibi: totaque discors
machina divulsi turbabit foedera mundi.
in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus
crescendi posuere modum. nec gentibus ullis
commodat in populum terrae pelagique potentem
invidiam Fortuna suam. tu causa malorum
facta tribus dominis communis, Roma, nec umquam
in turbam missi feralia foedera regni.
o male concordes nimiaque cupidine caeci,
quid miscere iuvat vires orbemque tenere

in medium? dum terra fretum terramque levabit
aër et longi volvent Titana labores
noxque diem caelo totidem per signa sequetur,
nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
impatiens consortis erit. nec gentibus ullis
credite, nec longe fatorum exempla petantur.
fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri:
nec pretium tanti tellus pontusque furoris
tunc erat: exiguum dominos commisit asylum.
temporis angusti mansit concordia discors,
paxque fuit non sponte ducum. nam sola futuri
Crassus erat belli medius mora. qualiter undas
qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos,
nec patitur conferre fretum; si terra recedat,
Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeva
arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras,
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores.
plus illa vobis acie quam creditis actum est,
Arsacidae: bellum victis civile dedistis.
dividitur ferro regnum, populique potentis
quae mare quae terras quae totum possidet orbem
non cepit fortuna duos. nam pignora iuncti
sanguinis et diro ferales omine taedas
abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeva
intercepta manu. quod si tibi fata dedissent
maiores in luce moras, tu sola furentes
inde virum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem,
armatasque manus excusso iungere ferro,
ut generos mediae soceris iunxere Sabinae.
morte tua discussa fides bellumque movere
permissum ducibus. stimulos dedit aemula virtus.
tu, nova ne veteres obscurent acta triumphos,

et victis cedat piratica laurea Gallis,
Magne, times: te iam series ususque laborum
erigit impatiensque loci fortuna secundi.
nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem
Pompeiusve parem. quis iustius induit arma
scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur,
victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni.
nec coiere pares: alter vergentibus annis
in senium longoque togae tranquillior usu
dedidicit iam pace ducem; famaeque petitor
multa dare in vulgus; totus popularibus auris
impelli plausuque sui gaudere theatri:
nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
credere fortunae; stat magni nominis umbra,
qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
dona ducum nec iam validis radicibus haerens
pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aëra ramos
effundens trunco non frondibus efficit umbram;
et quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant,
sola tamen colitur. sed non in Caesare tantum
nomen erat nec fama ducis: sed nescia virtus
stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello.
acer et indomitus; quo spes quoque ira vocasset
ferre manum, et numquam temerando parcere ferro:
successus urgere suos, instare favori
numinis, impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.
qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen
aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
emicuit rupitque diem populosque paventes
terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma.

in sua templa furit: nullaque exire vetante
materia, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.
hae ducibus causae suberant: sed publica belli
semina, quae populos semper mersere potentes.
namque ut opes mundo nimias fortuna subacto
intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis,
praedaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae:
non auro tectisque modus: mensasque priores
aspernata fames: cultus gestare decoros
vix nuribus rapuere mares: fecunda virorum
paupertas fugitur; totoque accersitur orbe
quo gens quaeque perit. tum longos iungere fines
agrorum, et quondam duro sulcata Camilli
vomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.
non erat is populus quem pax tranquilla iuvaret,
quem sua libertas immotis pasceret armis.
inde irae faciles; et quod suasisset egestas
vile nefas; magnumque decus ferroque petendum
plus patria potuisse sua; mensuraque iuris
vis erat: hinc leges et plebiscita coactae,
et cum consulibus turbantes iura tribuni:
hinc rapti fasces pretio sectorque favoris
ipse sui populus, letalisque ambitus urbi
annua venali referens certamina Campo:
hinc usura vorax avidumque in tempora fenus
et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.
iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes,
ingentesque animo motus bellumque futurum
ceperat. ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas,
ingens visa duci Patriae trepidantis imago
clara per obscuram vultu maestissima noctem

turrigero canos effundens vertice crines
caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis,
et gemitu permixta loqui: quo tenditis ultra?
quo fertis mea signa, viri? si iure venitis,
si cives, huc usque licet. tum perculit horror
membra ducis, riguere comae gressusque coercens
languor in extrema tenuit vestigia ripa.
mox ait, o magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis
Tarpeia de rupe Tonans Phrygiique penates
gentis Iuleae et rapti secreta Quirini
et residens celsa Latialis Iupiter Alba
Vestalesque foci summique o numinis instar
Roma fave coeptis; non te furialibus armis
persequor; en adsum victor terraque marique
Caesar ubique tuus—liceat modo—nunc quoque miles.
ille erit ille nocens qui me tibi fecerit hostem.
inde moras solvit belli tumidumque per amnem
signa tulit propere: sicut squalentibus arvis
aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
subsedit dubius totam dum colligit iram;
mox ubi se saevae stimulavit verbere caudae
erexitque iubas vasto et grave murmur hiatu
infremuit, tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
haereat aut latum subeant venabula pectus,
per ferrum tanti securus vulneris exit.

fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
puniceus Rubicon cum fervida canduit aestas:
perque imas serpit valles et Gallica certus
limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis.
tum vires praebebat hiemps atque auxerat undas
tertia iam gravido pluvialis Cynthia cornu,
et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur amnem

excepturus aquas: molli tum cetera rumpit
turba vado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.
Caesar ut adversam superato gurgite ripam
attigit Hesperiae vetitis et constitit arvis:
hic, ait, hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo;
te, Fortuna, sequor. procul hinc iam foedera sunto.
credidimus fatis. utendum est iudice bello.
sic fatus, noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor
impiger et torto Balearis verbere fundae
ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta;
vicinumque minax invadit Ariminon. ignes
solis lucifero fugiebant astra relicto,
iamque dies primos belli visura tumultus
exoritur. seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.
constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles
signa foro, stridor lituum clangorque tubarum
non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
rupta quies populi stratisque excita iuventus
diripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma
quae pax longa dabat: nuda iam crate fluentes
invadunt clypeos curvataque cuspide pila
et scabros nigrae morsu rubiginis enses.
ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaque signa,
et celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar,
diriguere metu, gelidus pavor occupat artus,
et tacito mutos volvunt in pectore questus:
o male vicinis haec moenia condita Gallis,
o tristi damnata loco! pax alta per omnes
et tranquilla quies populos: nos praeda furentum
primaque castra sumus. melius, Fortuna, dedisses
orbe sub Eoo sedem gelidaque sub Arcto
errantesque domos Latii quam claustra tueri.

nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque furentem
vidimus et Martem Libyes cursumque furoris
Teutonici. quotiens Romam Fortuna lacessit,
hac iter est bellis. gemitu sic quisque latenti
non ausus timuisse palam: vox nulla dolori
credita: sed quantum, volucres cum bruma coercet,
rura silent mediusque tacet sine murmure pontus,
tanta quies. noctis gelidas lux solverat umbras:
ecce faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti
urgentes addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris
rumpunt fata moras: iustos Fortuna laborat
esse ducis motus et causas invenit armis.
expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos
victo iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis.
hos iam mota ducis vicinaque signa petentes
audax venali comitatur Curio lingua:
vox quondam populi libertatemque tueri
ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentes.
utque ducem varias volventem pectore curas
conspexit: dum voce tuae potuere iuvari,
Caesar, ait, partes quamvis nolente senatu
traximus imperium tum cum mihi Rostra tenere
ius erat et dubios in te transferre Quirites.
sed postquam leges bello siluere coactae,
pellimur e patriis laribus patimurque volentes
exsilium: tua nos faciet victoria cives.
dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes,
tolle moras. semper nocuit differre paratis.
par labor atque metus pretio maiore petuntur.
bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris,
pars quota terrarum. facili si proelia pauca
gesseris eventu tibi Roma subegerit orbem.
nunc neque te longi remeantem pompa triumphi

excipit aut sacras poscunt Capitolia lauros.
livor edax tibi cuncta negat; gentesque subactas
vix impune feres. socerum depellere regno
decretum genero est. partiri non potes orbem,
solus habere potes. sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
in bellum prono tantum tamen addidit irae
accenditque ducem quantum clamore iuvatur
Eleus sonipes, quamvis iam carcere clauso
immineat foribus pronusque repagula laxet.
convocat armatos extemplo ad signa maniplos:
utque satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum
composuit, vultu dextraque silentia iussit:
bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis
mecum, ait, experti decimo iam vincitis anno,
hoc cruor Arctois meruit diffusus in arvis
vulneraque et mortes hiemesque sub Alpibus actae?
non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu
concutitur quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes
Hannibal. implentur valido tirone cohortes:
in classem cadit omne nemus: terraque marique
iussus Caesar agi. quid si mihi signa iacerent
Marte sub adverso ruerentque in terga feroces
Gallorum populi? nunc, cum Fortuna secundis
mecum rebus agat superique ad summa vocantes,
temptamur. veniat dux longa pace solutus
milite cum subito partesque in bella togatae
Marcellusque loquax et nomina vana Catones.
scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes
continuo per tot sociabunt tempora regno?
ille reget currus, nondum patientibus annis?
ille semel raptos numquam dimittet honores?
quid iam rura querar totum suppressa per orbem
ac iussam servire famem? quis castra timenti

nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste minantes
iudicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona,
atque auso medias perrumpere milite leges
Pompeiana reum clauserunt signa Milonem?
nunc quoque ne lassum teneat privata senectus
bella nefanda parat suetus civilibus armis
et docilis Sullam scelerum vicisse magistrum.
utque ferae tigres numquam posuere furorem,
quas nemore Hyrcano matrum dum lustra sequuntur
altus caesorum pavit cruor armentorum,
sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum
durat, Magne, sitis. nullus semel ore receptus
pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.
quem tamen inveniet tam longa potentia finem?
quis scelerum modus est? ex hoc te iam, improbe, regno
ille tuus saltem doceat discedere Sulla.
post Cilicasne vagos et lassi Pontica regis
proelia barbarico vix consummata veneno
ultima Pompeio dabitur provincia Caesar,
quod non victrices aquilas deponere iussus
paruerim? mihi si merces erepta laborum est
his saltem longi non cum duce praemia belli
reddantur: miles sub quolibet iste triumphet.
conferet exsanguis quo se post bella senectus?
quae sedes erit emeritis? quae rura dabuntur
quae noster veteranus aret? quae moenia fessis?
an melius fient piratae, Magne, coloni?
tollite iampridem victricia tollite signa:
viribus utendum est quas fecimus: arma tenenti
omnia dat qui iusta negat. nec numina deerunt:
nam nec praeda meis neque regnum quaeritur armis,
detrahimus dominos urbi servire paratae.
dixerat, at dubium non claro murmure vulgus

secum incerta fremit: pietas patriique penates
quamquam caede feras mentes animosque tumentes
frangunt; sed diro ferri revocantur amore
ductorisque metu. summi tum munera pili
Laelius emeritique gerens insignia doni
servati civis referentem praemia quercum:
si licet, exclamat, Romani maxime rector
nominis et ius est veras expromere voces,
quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia vires
conquerimur. deeratne tibi fiducia nostri?
dum movet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis
et dum pila valent fortes torquere lacerti
degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus?
usque adeo miserum est civili vincere bello?
duc age per Scythiae populos per inhospita Syrtis
litora per calidas Libyae sitientis harenas:
haec manus ut victum post terga relinqueret orbem
oceani tumidas remo compescuit undas,
fregit et Arctoo spumantem vertice Rhenum.
iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam velle necesse est.
nec civis meus est in quem tua classica, Caesar,
audiero. per signa decem felicia castris
perque tuos iuro quocumque ex hoste triumphos;
pectore si fratris gladium iuguloque parentis
condere me iubeas plenaeque in viscera partu
coniugis invita peragam tamen omnia dextra;
si spoliare deos ignemque immittere templis,
numina miscebit castrensis flamma Monetae;
castra super Tusci si ponere Tybridis undas
Hesperios audax veniam metator in agros.
tu quoscumque voles in planum effundere muros
his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis:
illa licet penitus tolli quam iusseris urbem

Roma sit. his cunctae simul adsensere cohortes,
elatasque alte quaecumque ad bella vocaret
promisere manus. it tantus ad aethera clamor
quantus piniferae Boreas cum Thracius Ossae
rupibus incubuit curvato robore pressae
fit sonus aut rursus redeuntis in aethera silvae.

Caesar ut acceptum tam prono milite bellum
fataque ferre videt, ne quo languore moretur
fortunam, sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes
evocat et Romam motis petit undique signis.
deseruere cavo tentoria fixa Lemano,
castraque quae Vogesi curvam super ardua rupem
pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.
hi vada liquerunt Isarae qui gurgite ductus
per tam multa suo famae maioris in amnem
lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.
solvuntur flavi longa statione Rutheni:
mitis Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas,
finis et Hesperiae promoto limite Varus:
quaque sub Herculeo sacratus numine portus
urget rupe cava pelagus: non Caurus in illum
ius habet aut Zephyrus: solus sua litora turbat
Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci.
quaque iacet litus dubium quod terra fretumque
vindicat alternis vicibus, cum funditur ingens
oceanus, vel cum refugis se fluctibus aufert.
ventus ab extremo pelagus sic axe volutet
destituatque ferens; an sidere mota secundo
Tethyos unda vagae lunaribus aestuet horis;
flammiger an Titan ut alentes hauriat undas
erigat Oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducat,
quaerite quos agitat mundi labor: at mihi semper
tu quaecumque moves tam crebros causa meatus

ut superi voluere late. tunc rura Nemetis
qui tenet, et ripas Aturi qua litore curvo
molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus aequor,
signa movet, gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste:
et Biturix longisque leves Suessones in armis:
optimus excusso Leucus Remusque lacerto;
optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis:
et docilis rector rostrati Belga covinni:
Arvernique ausi Latios se fingere fratres
sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque rebellis
Nervius et caesi pollutus sanguine Cottae:
et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis
Vangiones: Batavique truces quos aere recurvo
stridentes acuere tubae: qua Cinga pererrat
gurgite: qua Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis
in mare fert Ararim: qua montibus ardua summis
gens habitat cana pendentes rupe Gebennas:
[*Pictones immunes subigunt sua rura; nec ultra*
instabiles Turonas circumsita castra coercent.
in nebulis, Meduana, tuis marcere perosus
Andus, iam placida Ligeris recreatur ab unda;
inclyta Caesareis Genabos dissolvitur alis.]
tu quoque laetatus converti proelia, Trevir:
et nunc tonse Ligur quondam per colla decora
crinibus effusis toti praelate Comatae:
et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Hesus
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.
vos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
laudibus in longum vates dimittitis aevum,
plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.
et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.

solis nosse deos et caeli numina vobis
aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
incolitis lucis: vobis auctoribus umbrae
non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
orbe alio: longae—canitis si cognita—vitae
mors media est. certe populi quos despicit Arctos
felices errore suo quos ille timorum
maximus haud urget leti metus. inde ruendi
in ferrum mens prona viris animaeque capaces
mortis et ignavum rediturae parcere vitae.
et vos cirrigeros bellis arcere Caycos
oppositi petitis Romam Rhenique feroces
deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus orbem.

Caesar ut immensae collecto robore vires
audendi maiora fidem fecere per omnem
spargitur Italiam vicinaque moenia complet.
vana quoque ad veros accessit fama timores
irrupitque animos populi clademque futuram
intulit et velox properantis nuntia belli
innumeras solvit falsa in praeconia linguas.
est qui tauriferis ubi se Mevania campis
explicat audaces ruere in certamina turmas
adferat, et qua Nar Tiberino illabitur amni
barbaricas saevi discurrere Caesaris alas:
ipsum omnes aquilas collataque signa ferentem
agmine non uno densisque incedere castris.
nec qualem meminere vident: maiorque ferusque
mentibus occurrit victoque immanior hoste.
hunc inter Rhenum populos Alpesque iacentes
finibus Arctois patriaque a sede revulsos
pone sequi, iussamque feris a gentibus urbem
Romano spectante rapi. sic quisque pavendo

dat vires famae: nulloque auctore malorum
quae finxere timent. nec solum vulgus inani
perculsum terrore pavet: sed curia et ipsi
sedibus exsiluere Patres invisaque belli
consulibus fugiens mandat decreta senatus.
tunc quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquant
incerti, quo quemque fugae tulit impetus urgent
praecipitem populum serieque haerentia longa
agmina prorumpunt. credas aut tecta nefandas
corripuisse faces aut iam quatiente ruina
nutantes pendere domos: sic turba per urbem
praecipiti lymphata gradu, velut unica rebus
spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros,
inconsulta ruit. qualis cum turbidus Auster
reppulit a Libycis immensum Syrtibus aequor
fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali
desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister
navitaque et nondum sparsa compage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit: sic urbe relicta
in bellum fugitur. nullum iam languidus aevo
evaluit revocare parens coniunxve maritum
fletibus aut patrii dubiae dum vota salutis
conciperent tenuere Lares: nec limine quisquam
haesit et extremo tunc forsitan urbis amatae
plenus abit visu: ruit irrevocabile vulgus.
o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri
difficiles. urbem populis victisque frequentem
gentibus et generis coeat si turba capacem
humani facilem venturo Caesare praedam
ignavae liquere manus. cum pressus ab hoste
clauditur externis miles Romanus in oris,
effugit exiguo nocturna pericula vallo,
et subitus rapti munimine caespitis agger

praebet securos intra tentoria somnos:
tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma,
desereris; nox una tuis non credita muris.
danda tamen venia est tantorum danda pavorum:
Pompeio fugiente timent. tum ne qua futuri
spes saltem trepidas mentes levet addita fati
peioris manifesta fides superique minaces
prodigiis terras implerunt aethera pontum.
ignota obscurae viderunt sidera noctes,
ardentemque polum flammis, caeloque volantes
obliquas per inane faces, crinemque timendi
sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.
fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno,
et varias ignis denso dedit aëre formas:
nunc iaculum longo nunc sparso lumine lampas
emicuit caelo. tacitum sine nubibus ullis
fulmen et Arctois rapiens e partibus ignem
percussit Latiale caput: stellaeque minores
per vacuum solitae noctis decurrere tempus
in medium venere diem: cornuque coacto
iam Phoebe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe
terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.
ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo
condidit ardentes atra caligine currus
involvitque orbem tenebris gentesque coegit
desperare diem: qualem fugiente per ortus
sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae.
ora ferox Siculae laxavit Mulciber Aetnae;
nec tulit in caelum flammas sed vertice prono
ignis in Hesperium cecidit latus. atra Charybdis
sanguineum fundo torsit mare. flebile saevi
latravere canes. Vestali raptus ab ara
ignis; et ostendens confectas flamma Latinas

scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit
Thebanos imitata rogos. tum cardine tellus
subsedit, veteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discussere nivem. Tethys maioribus undis
Hesperiam Calpen summumque implevit Atlanta.
indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem
testatos sudore Lares delapsaque templis
dona suis dirasque diem foedasse volucres
accipimus; silvisque feras sub nocte relictis
audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma.
tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae,
monstrosique hominum partus numeroque modoque
membrorum, matremque suus conterruit infans:
diraque per populum Cumanae carmina vatis
vulgantur. tunc quos sectis Bellona lacertis
saeva movet cecinere deos: crinemque rotantes
sanguineum populis ulularunt tristia Galli.
compositis plenae gemuerunt ossibus urnae.
tunc fragor armorum magnaeque per avia voces
auditae nemorum, et venientes comminus umbrae.
quique colunt iunctos extremis moenibus agros
diffugiunt: ingens urbem cingebat Erinnys
excutiens pronam flagranti vertice pinum
stridentesque comas: Thebanam qualis Agaven
impulit aut saevi contorsit tela Lycurgi
Eumenis: aut qualem iussu Iunonis iniquae
horruit Alcides viso iam Dite Megaeram.
insonuere tubae et quanto clamore cohortes
miscentur tantum nox atra silentibus umbris
edidit. et medio visi consurgere Campo
tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes:
tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas
agricolae fracto Marium fugere sepulchro.

haec propter placuit Tuscos de more vetusto
acciri vates. quorum qui maximus aevo
Aruns incoluit desertae moenia Lucae,
fulminis edoctus motus venasque calentes
fibrarum et monitus volitantis in aëre pennae,
monstra iubet primum nullo quae semine discors
protulerat natura rapi sterilique nefandos
ex utero fetus infaustis urere flammis.
mox iubet et totam pavidis a civibus urbem
ambiri et festo purgantes moenia lustro
longa per extremos pomoeria cingere fines
pontifices sacri quibus est permissa potestas.
turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Gabino,
Vestalemque chorum ducit vittata sacerdos
Troianam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam.
tum qui fata deum secretaque carmina servant
et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybeben,
et doctus volucres augur servare sinistras,
septemvirque epulis festis Titiique sodales
et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo,
attollensque apicem generoso vertice Flamen.
dumque illi effusam longis anfractibus urbem
circumeunt, Aruns dispersos fulminis ignes
colligit et terrae maesto cum murmure condit
datque locis nomen sacris. tunc admovet aris
electa cervice marem. iam fundere Bacchum
coeperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro:
impatiensque diu non grati victima sacri,
cornua succincti premerent cum torva ministri,
deposito victum praebebat poplite collum.
nec cruor emicuit solitus: sed vulnere largo
diffusum rutilo nigrum pro sanguine virus.
palluit attonitus sacris feralibus Aruns

atque iram superum raptis quaesivit in extis.
terruit ipse color vatem: nam pallida taetris
viscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore
plurimus adsperso variabat sanguine livor.
cernit tabe iecur madidum: venasque minaces
hostili de parte videt. pulmonis anheli
fibra latet parvusque secat vitalia limes
cor iacet: et saniem per hiantes viscera rimas
emittunt: produntque suas omenta latebras.
quodque—nefas—nullis impune adparuit extis
ecce videt capiti fibrarum increscere molem
alterius capitis: pars aegra et marcida pendet,
pars micat et celeri venas movet improba pulsu.
his ubi concepit magnorum fata malorum
exclamat: vix fas, superi, quaecumque monetis
prodere me populis: neque enim tibi summe litavi
Iupiter hoc sacrum: caesique in pectora tauri
inferni venere dei. non fanda timemus:
sed venient maiora metu. di visa secundent
et fibris sit nulla fides; sed conditor artis
finxerit ista Tages. flexa sic omnia Tuscus
involvens multaque tegens ambage canebat.
  at Figulus cui cura deos secretaque caeli
nosse fuit, quem non stellarum Aegyptia Memphis
aequaret visu numerisque moventibus astra,
aut hic errat, ait, nulla cum lege per aevum
mundus et incerto discurrunt sidera motu:
aut si fata movent urbi generique paratur
humano matura lues. terraene dehiscent
subsidentque urbes? an tollet fervidus aër
temperiem? segetes tellus infida negabit?
omnis an infusis miscebitur unda venenis?
quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis

saevitiam? extremi multorum tempus in unum
convenere dies. summo si frigida caelo
stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes,
Deucalioneos fudisset Aquarius imbres
totaque diffuso latuisset in aequore tellus.
si saevum radiis Nemeaeum, Phoebe, Leonem
nunc premeres, toto fluerent incendia mundo
succensusque tuis flagrasset curribus aether.
hi cessant ignes: tu, qui flagrante minacem
Scorpion incendis cauda chelasque peruris,
quid tantum, Gradive, paras? nam mitis in alto
Iupiter occasu premitur Venerisque salubre
sidus hebet motuque celer Cyllenius haeret,
et caelum Mars solus habet. cur signa meatus
deseruere suos mundoque obscura feruntur:
ensiferi nimium fulget latus Orionis?
imminet armorum rabies: ferrique potestas
confundet ius omne manu: scelerique nefando
nomen erit virtus: multosque exibit in annos
hic furor. et superos quid prodest poscere finem?
cum domino pax ista venit. duc, Roma, malorum
continuam seriem clademque in tempora multa
extrahe civili tantum iam libera bello.
terruerant satis haec pavidam praesagia plebem:
sed maiora premunt. nam qualis vertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo
talis et attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem
vocibus his prodens urgentem pectora Phoebum:
quo feror, o Paean? qua me super aethera raptam
constituis terra? video Pangaea nivosis
cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos.
quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce: quo tela manusque
Romanae miscent acies, bellumque sine hoste est?

quo diversa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,
qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili.
hunc ego fluminea deformis truncus harena
qui iacet agnosco: dubiam super aequora Syrtin
arentemque feror Libyen quo tristis Erinys
transtulit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpis
nubiferae colles atque aëriam Pyrenen
abripimur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis
impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.
consurgunt partes iterum totumque per orbem
rursus eo. nova da mihi cernere litora Ponti
telluremque novam: vidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos.
haec ait et lasso iacuit defecta furore.

NOTES.

1. *Emathios*] Emathia was a part of Macedonia, but the name is loosely applied by the Roman poets, not only to Macedonia but also to Thessaly: they often confuse the battle-fields of Pharsalus and Philippi, perhaps from a misunderstanding of Verg. *G.* I. 489—492, *Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi, nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos;* cf. Lucan I. 680, VII. 860, Juv. VIII. 242, and Prof. Mayor's note.

plus quam civilia] not only between citizens but relatives; cf. the use of *nefas* in VI. 78—9; *classica nulla sonant iniussaque tela vagantur, et fit saepe nefas iaculum temptante lacerto.*

2. *ius datum*] license granted to crime; cf. Plin. *H. N.* XVIII. 337. (*zephyrus*) *arbores serendi ius dabit.* So *ius rogat* in Ov. *Met.* II. 47—8.

3. *viscera*] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 833.

4. *regni*] tyranny, i.e. the (informal) power of the first triumvirate; cf. 86, 92, 315, Cic. *pro Sulla* § 21, *quod tandem Torquate regnum? consulatus, credo, mei.*

5. *certatum*] the conflict; cf. 70 *negatum*, 462 *ignavum.* Verg. *Aen.* V. 6 *notum.*

6. *in commune nefas*] doomed to end in general guilt.

7. *pares*] matched=*commissas.* Cf. V. 3, VI. 3, IV. 710, Verg. *G.* I. 489.

pila] the special weapons of Romans; cf. X. 47—8 where they are opposed to the Macedonian *sarissae.*

10. *Babylon*] used loosely for the Parthians, *tropaea* are standards of Crassus.

11. *inulta*] Cf. Amm. Marc. XXIII. 5 § 17 *nec erravere diu manes inulti.*

12. *nullos triumphos*] No general could claim a triumph for a victory gained in civil war; cf. VI. 260—1 *non tu bellorum spoliis ornare tonantis templa potes, non tu laetis ululare triumphis.* Caesar's quadruple triumph B.C. 46 was over the Gauls, Ptolemy, Pharnaces and Juba. The same holds good of that of Augustus B.C. 29, after the battle of Actium.

13. *parari*]=*comparari* bought; cf. 34, Cic. *ad Att.* XII. 19 § 1, Liv. XXXIV. 4, Juv. III. 224.

14. For the confused order of words in this line cf. 113, 377, 508.

15. *sidera*] perhaps=*solem;* cf. Ovid. *Met.* XIV. 172, *caelumque et sidera solis respicio.*

16. *flagrantibus horis*]=*aestate;* cf. Hor. *A. P.* 302, *sub verni temporis horam.*

17. *remitti*] Cf. Verg. *G.* IV. 35—6.

19. For matter cf. Hor. *E.* VII. 1—10.

barbarus Araxes]=the savage tribes on the Araxes. So Verg. *G.* II. 497, *coniuratus Hister.*

20. 'The tribe, if such there be, that knows the hidden cradle of the Nile'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV. 14. 45. Oud compares Auson. *Idyl.* VII. 2, *conscia nascentis Bissula Danubii.* Lucan himself V. 89, 90 has *mundique futuri conscius.*

22. *totum orbem*] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 851, foll. IV. 231, *totum sub leges mitteret orbem.* Hor. *Carm.* III. 3. 43—4, *triumphatisque possit Roma ferox dare iura Medis.*

23. *defuit*] 'not yet hast thou felt the want of a foe'.

24. *quod*] 'for the reason why...' anticipative of line 30 foll.; cf. Verg. *Aen.* II. 180, and especially Mr Munro's note on *Lucr.* IV. 885.

25. *urbibus*] This seems suspicious when compared with line 27. Weber plausibly conjectures *finibus.*

31. *Poenus erit*] will be found to have been.

descendere] from the remark of the Scholiast, *nunquam ad imum pervenire,* this seems to have been the reading of some old MSS., and is confirmed by *alta sedent* foll.; it has been received by Oud (following Heinsius) into the text; cf. VI. 216, Liv. I. 41, *ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse,* Ov. *Met.* III. 67. Vulg. *discindere.*

ferro] sc. *hostili.* Cf. 82, 93, 280.

32. *contigit*] Cf. Prof. Mayor on Juv. VIII. 28.

sedent] Cf. Florus IV. 2 § 40, *unius in scuto centum atque viginti tela sedere.*

33. If all these evils have been endured in order to pave the way for Nero. For the sense Grotius compares Plin. *Paneg.* VI. 2.

34. *viam*] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* X. 113, *fata viam invenient.*

35. i.e. Nero would become a god after his death. Cf. VII. 455 foll., and the words of the dying Vespasian, Suet. *Vesp.* 23, '*Vae, puto, deus fio*'.

37. *iam*] 'we complain no more'.

39. *saturentur*] at the battle of Thapsus in Africa. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 1. 25 foll.

40. '*ultima proelia funesta Munda* per hypallagen dictum pro *funesta proelia apud ultimam Mundam*, hoc est in extrema Iberia sitam, ea enim figura crebro noster utitur.' Weise. But of all his references none supports the double hypallage; cf. rather 54 inf. This interpretation however is unnecessary as Munda (B.C. 45) was the last battle of the civil war of which Pharsalia was the turning-point.

41. Siege of Perusia, B.C. 41. Cf. Auson. *Epp.* XXII. 42, *iam iam Perusina et Saguntina fame Lucaniacum liberet.* Siege of Mutina, B.C. 43.

43. *Leucas*] Loosely put for Actium B.C. 31; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 677.

bella] Cf. Manil. I. 917 foll., *restabant profugo civilia milite bella quum patrios armis imitatus filius hostes aequora Pompeius cepit defensa parenti.*

servilia] alluding to the war with Sext. Pompeius in Sicily, who filled his ranks with slaves. Schol. Cf. Hor. *E.* IV. 19.

45. 'Since 'twas for thee that all was done'.

statione peracta] 'when thy watch is over'. For the metaphor in *statio* cf. X. 203.

46. *serus*] implies a wish; cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. 2. 45.

praelati] 'preferred to earth', implying that death is a matter of choice to Nero.

48. *currus*] Weber sees in this a covert allusion to Nero's passion for chariot-driving.

51. *iuris tui*] better than *iuri tuo* which some have been lately tempted to read; cf. VII. 55, *qui tot simul undique gentes iuris habere sui vellet.*

52. Cf. Verg. *G.* I. 24 foll.

54. *adversi*] opposite to the North.

vergitur] for passive cf. Lucr. II. 212, and for sense Verg. *G.* I. 240 foll. The ancients regarded the earth as rising towards the North and sinking towards the South.

55. *obliquo*] i.e. to the North or South. Nero is to be seated directly over Rome. The meaning 'cross', 'unpropitious' is perhaps also glanced at: *sidere* = influence.

57. 'By a central station maintain the equilibrium of the sky'. *Orbe medio*, i.e. on the surface of the outer sphere formed by the sky at a point vertically above Rome and equidistant from the horizon in every direction. So *summo monte*, *etc.*

58. *sereni*] anticipates *vacet.*

59. *a Caesare*] on Caesar's side. 'And let no clouds obstruct our view where Cæsar sits.'

61. *in vicem*] = 'one another'.

62. *compescat*] keep closed, the idea being probably suggested by the lines of Ennius (*Ann.* VIII.) *postquam discordia taetra belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*, where we have precisely the opposite sense. For the peace in Nero's time cf. Suet. *Ner.* 13.

63. To me (who foretell these things) you are already a deity.

pectore] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 78.

64. *Cirrhaea*] i.e. Delphi of which Cirrha was the port. For this and Nysa cf. Juv. VII. 64 and Prof. Mayor's notes.

67. Cf. Ov. *Met.* I. 1. *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora.*

68. *aperitur*] 'opens before me'. So Verg. *Aen.* III. 206.

70. *series*] 'the envious course of destiny'; cf. Cic. *de Div.* I. § 125, *fatum autem appello ordinem seriemque causarum quum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat.*

summisque negatum] 'the doom of all that is highest to speedy fall'; cf. Stat. *Silv.* II. 7. 90—1. *O numquam data festa longa summis, cur plus ardua casibus patetis?* The passage has been imitated by Claudian *Epigr.* XXXVI. (XLI).

72. *nec se Roma ferens*] = *et Roma se non-ferens*; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* II. 40. *praeterea duo nec tuta mihi valle reperti capreoli* where *nec tuta* = *et non-tuta.* For sense cf. Liv. Pref. § 4, *ut iam magnitudine laboret sua* and Hor. *E.* XVI. 2, *suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.*

compage] frame. So of the human body, V. 119. *compages humana labat.*

73. *coegerit*] 'when the day of doom shall close the many ages of the world'. See on 537 inf.

74. *repetent*] MSS. *repetens*. The correction is due to Rutgersius. *mixtis*] For the hypallage cf. Verg. *Ecl.* x. 55, *interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis*.

75. *sidera sideribus concurrent*] Weber compares Sen. *consol. ad Marciam* XXVI. § 6, *quum tempus advenerit quo se mundus renovaturus exstinguat, viribus ista se suis caedent et sidera sideribus incurrent*.

77. *excutietque fretum*] For the negative carried on to the second clause Weise compares II. 372—3, *ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab ore caesariem duroque admisit gaudia vultu*, and other passages. Add IX. 589—90, *nulla vehitur cervice supinus carpentoque sedens*. 'The land shall no more seek to advance her shore-line nor throw off the sea.'

contraria] h.e. ex adverso soli aurigabitur. ita fiet ut ei obvia facta illidatur: quae quum de via decedere noluerit diem sibi arrogabit et solem nocte contentum esse iubebit.

80. *divulsi*] proleptic.

foedera mundi] laws of the universe; cf. Verg. *G.* I. 60. *continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis*, and below on 417.

81. *in se magna ruunt*] are their own stumbling-block; 'work their own ruin'; cf. Thuc. VI. 18. 6. τὴν πόλιν ἂν ἡσυχάζῃ τρίψεσθαι αὐτὴν περὶ αὐτήν; also I. 69. 9. Or *ruunt in se*=turn their strength against themselves.

83. *commodat*] 'nor does Fortune lend the weapons of her envy to any foreign nations to smite a people the lords of land and sea.' For *gentibus* cf. 93, and for *commodat* cf. Stat. *Theb.* IV. 75 (*Adrasto*) *cui bella favent, cui commodat iras cuncta cohors*.

84. 'Thou Rome wast the cause of all these ills in being made the common property of three masters, and the baleful bond of tyranny never before entrusted to a number.'

86. *in turbam missi*] probably 'never before entrusted to a number'. *turba*=Pompeius, Crassus and Cæsar. For this use of *turba* for a small number cf. Ov. *Fast.* II. 716, where it is used of the two young Tarquinii, and *ib.* V. 108 of two Muses.

87. *male*] for evil; cf. Ov. *Amor.* III. iii. 17—18 *at non invidiae vobis Cephisia virgo est pro male formosa iussa parente mori*. See on 248.

88. *miscere*] combine; cf. IX. 286 (the bees) *non miscent nexibus alas sed sibi quisque volat*.

89. *in medium*] 'for use in common;' cf. VII. 365—6, *nonne super-*

fusis collectum cornibus hostem in medium dabimus? Verg. *G.* I. 127, *in medium quaerebant;* ib. IV. 157, *in medium quaesita.* Claud. *Quart. Cons. Honor.* 296 *in commune iubes si quid censesve tenendum.*

levabit] Weise quotes Ov. *Met.* I. 12, *circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus.*

91. *totidem*] 'as many as the day', i.e. six.

92. *regni sociis*] 'partners in tyranny.' Cic. *de Off.* I. § 26 quotes from Ennius *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est*, and applies it to the case of Caesar; cf. also Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 17, *antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes.* Ov. *A. A.* III. 563, *effuge rivalem; vinces dum sola tenebis: non bene cum sociis regna Venusque manent.*

93. *gentibus ullis*] Cf. note on 83.

95. *fraterno*] Cf. Hor. *E.* VII. 17—20, *sic est; acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fraternae necis, ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor.* Tibull. II. v. 24, *Romulus aeternae nondum firmaverat urbis moenia consorti non habitanda Remo.*

97. *commisit*] ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; cf. Juv. I. 162—3, *securus licet Aenaean Rutulumque ferocem committas.*

98. *temporis angusti*] Two possible interpretations of this very difficult line have been suggested—(*a*) taking *discors* as part of the predicate, *temporis angusti concordia mansit* [*sed mansit*] *discors*, 'the short-lived concord endured, but 'twas a jarring concord,' or (*b*) 'the jarring concord of a short space endured,' i.e. endured for a short space. The introduction of *mansit* (which would rather require *tempus in angustum*) would thus seem to have altered the scheme of the line: otherwise *temporis angusti concordia* would stand for a simple descriptive genitive, such as Corn. Nep. *Ages.* VIII. § 2 *quum annorum octoginta in Aegyptum isset.* See Madvig. § 287.

concordia discors] Cf. Hor. *Epp.* I. xii. 19; Ov. *Met.* I. 433; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VII. 27 § 3 *tota haec mundi concordia ex discordibus constat*, taken from the words of Heraclitus, παλιντόνος ἁρμονίη κόσμου ὥσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

100. *mora*] For this word used of a person cf. Verg. *Aen.* X. 428, *pugnae nodumque moramque*: Liv. XXIII. 9. sub fin.

101. *Isthmos*] Sc. of Corinth, called by Pind. *Isth.* III. 38, γέφυραν ποντιάδα.

102. *patitur*] and suffers it (*mare*) not to join its waters, i.e. the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs.

103. *frangat*] *Terra* is probably the nominative to *frangat*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. iv. 10 foll., *ademptus Hector tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis.* For *frangat* cf. V. 605—6 (*Boreas*) *suumque in fluctus Cori frangit mare.*

104. *dirimens*] = qui dirimebat. Cf. Catull. LXIV. 8 *diva retinens in summis urbibus arces.*

106. *Parthica damna*] 'the disasters caused by the Parthians'.

solverunt] 'let loose'; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 53, *μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ* Κράσσος ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλὼς ἠγγέλλετο· *καὶ τοῦτο κώλυμα ὂν μέγα τοῦ συμπεσεῖν τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει.*

111. *cepit*] Cf. Juv. X. 148, *hic est quem non capit Africa*; Shakespeare *K. Henry IV.* pt. I. v. 4, 'When that this body did contain a spirit, a kingdom for it was too small a bound'.

pignora] perhaps her child which died a few days before its mother; cf. Plut. *Caes.* XXIII.

112. *taedas*] 'marriage torches'.

115. *furentes*] We have ventured to accept this emendation in place of the MSS. *furentem.*

121. *acta*] So MSS. Oud cf. VIII. 320, *quas magis in terras nostrum felicibus actis nomen abit.*

124. *erigit*] 'pricks on'; cf. Corn. Nep. *Themist.* I. § 3, *quae contumelia non fregit eum sed erexit.* Tac. *Hist.* V. 15.

125. Cf. Florus IV. ii. § 14, *iam Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes et Caesari Pompeiana dignitas gravis: nec hic ferebat parem, nec ille superiorem. Nefas: sic de principatu laborabant tanquam duos tanti imperii fortuna non caperet.*

126. *quis*] = *uter*; cf. VII. 259, *quis justius arma sumpserit*, V. 602, *et dubium pendet vento cui pareat aequor* of two winds Caurus and Boreas. Juv. VIII. 196; Pers. II. 20. This use is very rare in the golden age of Latin poetry; but cf. Verg. *Aen.* XII. 719 and 727.

induit] For the indicative cf. IX. 563, *quaere quid est virtus?* Pers. III. 66—72. This use is also found in the ante-Augustan poets; cf. Madvig § 356, obs. 3.

127. *quisque*] = *uterque.*

128. Cf. II. 288, *crimen erit superis et me fecisse nocentem.* Cic. *pro Ligar.* § 19, *causa tum dubia quod erat aliquid in utrâque parte quod probari posset: nunc melior ea iudicanda est quam etiam di adiuverunt.* For this Stoic comparison between the gods and the wise man, cf.

Senec. *Prov.* VI. § 6, *ferte fortiter: hoc est quo deum antecedatis, ille extra patientiam malorum est, vos supra patientiam.* *Epp.* IX. ii. 15, *Iupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est: sapiens nihilo se minoris aestimat quod virtutes eius spatio breviore cluduntur.*

129. *pares*] equally matched; cf. Hor. *Sat.* II. vi. 44 *Thrax est Gallina Syro par?*

130. *senium*] 'decay', as usually; cf. IV. 812, *a quibus omne aevi senium sua fama repellit.* Pompeius was at this time only fifty-eight years of age, Caesar being fifty-two.

togae] 'civil life'; cf. VIII. 813, *dic semper ab armis civilem repetisse togam.*

132. *multa*] i.e. games and largesses.

133. *sui theatri*] Pompeius had built the first stone theatre at Rome; cf. VII. 9 foll.; Verg. *G.* II. 508 foll.

134. *novas*] regain his strength afresh; *novas* = a predicate.

que really = *sed.* See on 633 below.

135. *nominis umbra*] Weise compares VIII. 449, *quis nominis umbram horreat?*

137. *exuvias*] For this custom of hanging spoils on trees cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 5 foll., *ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma, Mezenti ducis exuvias.* Stat. *Theb.* VI. 67 foll.

138. *radicibus*] Cf. the metaphorical expression in Cic. *ad. Att.* VI. 6. § 4 *Pompeius, eo robore vir, iis radicibus.*

141. *et*] Another reading, which has good MSS. authority, is *at.*

143. *sola tamen colitur*] Cf. Quintil. X. i. § 88, *Ennium sicut sacros vetustate lucos adoremus in quibus grandia et antiqua robora iam non tantam habent speciem quantam religionem.*

tantum] 'so great', i.e. as that of Pompeius. Some however take *tantum* adverbially.

145. *stare loco*] Oud compares Verg. *G.* III. 84, *stare loco nescit.*

pudor] 'and knows no shame except defeat'. For the infinitive after *pudor* cf. Sil. Ital. IV. 328, *trepidaque a mente recedit vertere terga pudor.*

147. *temerando parcere ferro*] 'and never hesitate to stain the sword'.

148. *urgere*] 'press', i.e. make the most of; cf. Cic. *ad. Fam.* VII. 8. § 2, *quin tu urges istam occasionem et facultatem qua melior nunquam reperietur.*

instare] 'follow up'; cf. Tac. *Agric.* XVIII., *non ignarus instandum famae.* *Hist.* V. 15, *Civilis instare fortunae.*

150. *ruina*] Oud compares II. 439, *Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso gaudet habere vias.*

151. For the theory that thunder and lightning are caused by the collision of clouds cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 404 foll.; Lucret. VI. 96 foll.

152. *impulsi*] 'smitten'; cf. Ov. *Met.* III. 21, *mugitibus impulit auras.*

153. *diem*] 'the light of heaven': the bright sky; cf. Stat. *Theb.* I. 200, *effusa sub omni terra atque unda die.*

paventes] Cf. Verg. *G.* I. 330, *mortalia corda per gentes humilis stravit pavor.* Lucret. V. 1218 foll.

155. *sua templa*] 'the quarter of the sky whence it came'; cf. IX. 321, (*auster*) *in sua regna furens.* This well-known meaning of the word *templum* is explained at length by Varro, de *Ling. Lat.* VII. §§ 6, 7, who quotes from the *Hecuba* of Ennius, *O magna templa caelitum commixta stellis splendidis.*

nulla materia] i.e. nothing solid.

156. *revertens*]

> 'Great wast, as foorth it sallyes and retires,
> It makes, and gathers his dispersed fires'.—MAY.

The lightning was supposed to return again to the sky. Weise cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV. iii. 14. (κεραυνὸς) ὁρᾶται οὔτ' ἐπιὼν οὔτε κατασκήψας οὔτε ἀπιών. Sen. *Epp.* VI. v. 8, *quomodo fulmini etiam cum latissime percussit ac fulsit per exiguum foramen est reditus.*

158. *causae suberant*] 'were the hidden motives'; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* IV. 31, *pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis.*

159. *semina*] Cf. Cic. *de Off.* II. § 29, *nec uero unquam bellorum civilium semen et causa deerit.*

mersere] Cf. Juv. X. 57, XIII. 8; Sen. *Epp.* VI. iii. § 3, *quoties aliquos Seiani odium deinde amor merserat.*

161. *mores*] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV. iv. 35; Liv. pref. § 9.

163. *auro*] Cf. Lucr. V. 1273—5.

tectis] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. xv.

164. *aspernata fames*] Cf. Petron. 119, *ingeniosa gula est, Siculo scarus aequore mersus ad mensam vivus perducitur atque Lucrinis eruta litoribus vendunt conchylia cenas ut renovent per damna famem.*

165. *nuribus*] 'matrons'; cf. Ov. *Met.* II. 366, *nuribus gestanda Latinis;* Petron. 119, *et laxi crines et tot nova nomina vestis, quaeque virum quaerunt.*

mares] For the wearing of silk by men cf. Suet. *Calig.* 52.

fecunda virorum] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. xii. 37—44; III. vi. 36 foll.

167. *longos*] is part of the predicate. For the sense cf. Liv. XXXIV. 4, *ingens cupido agros continuandi;* Petron. 48; Mart. IV. lxiv. 31—4; Juv. XIV. 159 and Prof. Mayor's note.

170. *ignotis*] i.e. the estates were so large that the owners did not know the cultivators; cf. Petron. 37 ad fin, *familia vero babae babae, non mehercules puto decumam partem esse quae dominum suum noverit.*

172. *pasceret*] 'for whom it's own freedom would suffice'.

174. *vile*] 'held light'. Cf. Sall. *Cat.* XVI. *fidem fortunas pericula vilia habere.*

176. *vis*] Cf. Hes. *W.* and *D.* 189, χειροδίκαι.

coactae] 'carried through by force'.

178. *sector favoris*] i. e. selling its own support without an agent or broker. Cf. Prof. Mayor on Cic. *Phil.* II. § 39.

179. *ambitus*] A general term = 'corrupt practices': Festus, p. 5. M. defines it as *crimen adfectati honoris.*

180. *venali*] Cf. Juv. X. 77; Petron. 119, *nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia vertunt. venalis populus, venalis curia patrum; est favor in pretio.*

181. *usura vorax*] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 16. *Sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.*

in tempora] Of this obscure expression four possible interpretations have been suggested—(a) 'greedily looking to the times of payment', i.e. the Kalends, etc. Cf. Hor. *E.* II. 69, 70, *Sat.* I. III. 87. (b) 'ever greedier as time goes on', referring to compound interest: but in this sense *avidius* would be more natural. (c) 'money lent at usurious interest for stated periods'. Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* VI. 3, § 5, *renovato in singulos annos faenore.* (d) 'greedy to meet critical times', i.e. raised to a high rate on occasion of panics. But this use of the plural *tempora* by itself is one for which we can find no support. It is always to be remembered that *faenus* may mean either the interest on money lent, or the money on which the interest is payable, or even 'interest' in the abstract.

182. *fides*] 'credit shaken'. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 17, *minuere fidem* et infr., *sic refecta fides.*

multis utile bellum] 'war made the interest of many'. Cf. Petron. 119, *arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu vulneribus reparantur; inops audacia tuta est.*

184. *motus*] 'tumults'. Cf. VI. 322, Hor. *Carm.* II. i. 1, *motum ex Metello consule civicum.* Or *motus* may refer to the feelings of the mind as in Verg. *G.* I. 420.

187. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II. 589—92, *cum mihi se non ante oculis tam clara videndam obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit alma parens confessa deam qualisque videri caelicolis et quanta solet.*

188. *turrigero*] refers to the towers of the city walls.

190. *permixta*] 'words broken with sighs'.

191. *mea*] emphatic.

192. *huc usque*] *hactenus.* 'Ye may no further go.'

194. *languor*] 'faint-heartedness', i.e. irresolution. Cf. 393 and Cic. *ad Att.* XIV. 6, § 3, *vides languorem bonorum.*

197. *Iuleae*] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 288, *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

rapti] Cf. Ov. *Fast.* II. 496 foll.; Hor. *Carm.* III. iii. 15; Liv. I. 16.

secreta] alluding to the Quirinalia on xiii. Kal. Mart. Cf. Ovid l. c.

199. *numinis*] for the worship of the goddess Roma cf. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 37.

203. *hostem*] a public enemy, opposed to *cives*, 192. See on 682.

205. *squalentibus*] = uncultivated. Cf. Verg. *G.* I. 407, *squalent abductis arma colonis.*

207. *colligit*] Cf. Quint. XI. 3, § 53, *colligendus est spiritus.* Cf. Cicero's explanation of *se colligere*, *Tusc. D.* IV. § 78.

208. *caudae*] Plin. VIII. 49 refers to this habit of the lion. Cf. Hom. *Il.* XX. 170, Catull. LXIII. 81 *age caede terga cauda, tua verbera patere.*

209. *murmur*] for the accusative cf. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 510, *ter centum tonat ore deos.*

210. *levis*] 'light-armed', i. e. active.

212. *per ferrum*] 'through the opposing spears'. Oud quotes the still more remarkable expression of Sen. *de ira*, III. 2, § 6 (*barbari*) *gaudent feriri et instare ferro et tela corpore urgere et per suum vulnus exire—exire* thus = to force his way through the ring of hunters. Cf. Scott, *Rokeby.* V. XXXVI.

214. *puniceus*] 'dark-red', shows that Lucan derived the name Rubicon from *ruber.*

218. *tertia*] Weise explains this as follows: *tertia Cynthia* est

tertia nox ab interlunio quod plerumque pluviam affert: hinc luna pluviam portendens *gravida* vocatur, comparing Val. Flac. II. 56, *gravido surrexit Cynthia cornu: gravido*='surcharged with rain'.

219. *Alpes*]=mountains. A reference to the map will show that the Rubicon does not rise in the Alps.

221—2. *molli*] 'gentle', 'easy'. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* IX. 8, *mollique iugum demittere clivo.* Or 'with yielding bed'. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* V. 9, where we have *molle litus*=a sandy shore.

225. *temerata*] i.e. by Pompeius and the senatorial party. Cf. 277 foll.

227. *indice bello*] 'the sword must be our umpire'. Oud compares Petron. 122, *indice Fortuna cadat alea.*

229. *verbere*] 'thong'. Cf. Verg. *G.* I. 309 *Stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae.*

231. *Ariminon*] For the Greek form cf. II. 49, where Auximon is found in the MSS.

233. *tumultus*] Lucan perhaps uses this word purposely on account of the special sense which it bears of 'a war in Italy'. See Cic. *Phil.* VIII. §§ 2—4.

235. We have restored the old reading *impulerat.*

238. *non pia*] referring as usual to civil war. Cf. Verg. *G.* I. 511.

classica] 'alarums', MAY.

239. *iuventus*] as usual, = the men of military age.

241. *dabat*]='supplied'.

nuda] i.e. the wickerwork was left bare by the decay of the hide-covering; for *crate* Weise compares III. 485, *perpetuam rupit defesso milite cratem.*

fluentes] 'rotting', falling to pieces. Cf. its use by Plin. of hair falling off. *H. N.* XXVII. §§ 17, 138, &c. So metaphorically Verg. *Aen.* II. 169.

242. *invadunt*] 'seize'. Cf. Petron. 15, *Calvus invaserat pallium.*

curvataque cuspide] 'bent at the point'.

245. *celsus*] 'aloft', i.e. on horseback. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* VIII. 563, *nunc pedes ense vago prensis nunc celsus habenis.*

247. *tacito...pectore*]='within their breast', *tacito* implying that from fear they kept back what they might have said, in forcible juxta-

position with *mutos* 'unspoken'. For the latter word cf. Soph. *O. C.* 131, τὸ τᾶς εὐφήμου στόμα φροντίδος ἱέντες. Cf. 257—8.

248. 'Alas! for this town founded with such ill neighbours as the Gauls.' For the founding of a Roman colony at Ariminum cf. Vell. Pat. I. 14, § 6, and for its fidelity to Rome in the second Punic War, Liv. XXVII. 10.

253. *errantesque*] Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* v. 709 foll.; Hor. *Carm.* III. 24. 9; Pind. *frag.* 72, νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται Στράτων ὃς ἁμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται.

claustra] 'guard the keys of Latium'. Cf. Liv. IX. 32, *Sutrium velut claustra Etruriae erat.*

254. The Senones were the tribe that captured Rome, 390 B.C.

255. *Martem Libyes*] i.e. Hannibal's army in the second Punic War.

259. *credita*] Cf. 520.

quantum] used adverbially.

260. *silent*] *silere* and *tacere* seem to be here used indifferently.

262. *faces belli*] the torch that was to kindle the flame of civil war. The *mens* (probably Caesar's, see 192—4 and 280—1) is looked upon as fuel ready for the firing. In the next words the metaphor is abruptly changed.

263. *pudoris*] the delay caused by shame.

265. *esse*] For the infinitive after *laborare*, cf. Plin. *Epp.* I. 10, § 2, *amari ab eo laboravi.*

266. *ancipiti*] 'wavering'.

267. *victo iure*] because the Tribuneship was a Sacrosancta potestas.

iactatis...Gracchis] 'harping on the Gracchi'. Oud cf. Sil. Ital. II. 182, *mersum pelago iactarat Ulixem.*

269. *venali*] Cf. IV. 819, 820. *Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.*

271. 'To bring down armed chiefs to the level of the people.' *miscere* here = *in ordinem cogere.* Cf. II. 545. Curio had proposed in the senate that Pompeius and Caesar should lay down their arms simultaneously. Cf. Appian, B.C. II. 28—31.

275. *traximus*] 'prolonged', i.e. opposed the proposition to deprive Cæsar of his province before the end of his second five-years term.

278. *volentes*] if this means anything more than going into voluntary

exile, i. e. without being formally banished, it must be explained by the following line, 'we are willing to suffer exile to be restored by you'.

279. Notice the order of the words here. The sense is

(1) We can only be restored by your victory.

(2) You may conquer, we shall reap the fruits.

(3) We are sure that you will conquer.

Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. vii. 3, *quis te redonabit Quiritem?*

280. *partes*] i.e. the enemy's side. Cf. *ferro*, 31; *gentibus*, 82; *cohortes*, 305.

282. 'The toil and anxiety are no more (than in the conquest of Gaul), the reward is greater.'

284. *facili*] 'favourable'. Cf. Tibull. II. iv. 19, *ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero*, and *facillume agere*, Ter. *Adelph.* 501, also *faciles dei* = 'propitious gods'. Cf. Ov. *Heroid.* XVI. 280, and elsewhere.

285. 'It will be for you that Rome has subdued the world'. *tibi*, i. e. non sibi. *Roma*, i. e. non tu, ut tibi non fuerit amplius laborandum. *orbem*, i. e. non Galliam tantum.

287. *sacras...lauros*] Van Jever thinks that this refers to the ovation as distinct from the triumph, comparing Suet. *Dom.* VI., *de Cattis Dacisque post varia praelia duplicem triumphum egit: de Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Iovi rettulit.*

289. *impune*] 'Scarce will you go unpunished for having subdued so many nations'. Cf. the feelings of Domitian towards Agricola, Tac. *Agric.* 39 foll.

291. *et ipsi*] sc. *duci*, but the construction is changed below.

292. *tamen*] For the position of the word, cf. 378.

293. *iuvatur*] Cf. Ov. *ex Ponto*, I. vi. 18, *alloquioque iuva pectora nostra tuo.*

295. 'throws himself against the door and strives to loose the bolts with outstretched head.'

298. *dextra*] Cf. Pers. IV. 8, *fert animus calidae fecisse silentia turbae maiestate manus.*

302. *sub Alpibus*] used loosely for Transalpine Gaul.

304. *transcenderet*] 'forced the passes of the Alps'. Oud cf. VI. 325, *extremum Scythici transcendam frigoris orbem.* Propert. I. XIV. 19, *illa neque Arabium metuit transcendere limen.*

306. *in classem*] 'to build fleets'. Oud cf. Claud. IV. *Cons. Honor.* 624, *in lintres fregere nemus.*

307. *agi*] 'to be hunted'. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 481, *ut cervum ardentes agerent.*

iacerent] 'lay prostrate'. Cf. Cic. *pro Mur.* § 30, *vestrum studium totum iacet*, and elsewhere.

310. *mecum...agat*] Cf. Plin. *H. N.* VII. § 131, *abunde agitur atque indulgenter a Fortuna deciditur cum eo qui iure dici non infelix potest.*

311. *temptamur*] = provocamur ad bellum. Weise.

312. *subito*] = tumultuario.

in bella togatae] 'meeting war with the gown of peace', implying that Pompeius was backed by men of words and not of deeds.

313. M. Marcellus, consul B.C. 51, had proposed that Caesar should be superseded in his command before the expiration of his second quinquennium. Cf. Zumpt, *Annales.*

nomina vana Catones] for the use of the plural, cf. VI. 794—5, Verg. *G.* II. 169.

314. *extremi*] 'distant'. Cf. Verg. *G.* II. 114, *Aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem.*

empti] refers to the influence which Pompeius had gained among the dependent kings in Africa and the East. Cf. VII. 277 foll.

315. *continuo regno*] referring to the Gabinian and Manilian laws, &c.

316. Pompeius had triumphed over Hiarbas, B.C. 81, at the age of 24: the legal age was 30.

318. *rura*] so MSS., if the reading be sound this must mean crops. Cf. Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* II. iii. § 2. *Ille* (*Clodius*) *furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso quis esset qui plebem fame necaret. respondebant operae, Pompeius.* Farnab. reads *iura.*

319. *iussam servire*] 'made his instrument'.

320. *mixta foro*] For the intimidation practised by Pompeius at the trial of Milo, cf. Mr Purton's introduction to the Speech *pro Milone.*

324. *lassum*] 'worn out'. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. vi. 7 and note on 336 below.

326. *vicisse*] 'surpass'. Cf. Cic. II. in *Verr.* IV. § 112, *quae deprecatio est igitur ei reliqua qui indignitate servos temeritate fugitivos scelere barbaros crudelitate hostes vicerit?* For the connexion between Pompeius and Sulla, cf. Cic. *ad Att.* IX. 10. § 6.

327. *posuere*] an aorist. For the whole passage, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 717—736, especially χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἦθος τὸ πρόσθε τοκήων.

329. *altus...cruor*] 'deep streams of blood': cf. III. 572.

332. *mansuescere*] 'to enjoy a bloodless meal'.

333. *potentia*] power (unofficial, not *potestas*).

336. *lassi*] because conquered before by Sulla and Lucullus.

337. *barbarico*] Pontus was famous for poisonous herbs, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* VIII. 95, *has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena ipse dedit Moeris; nascuntur plurima Ponto.*

vix] The Scholiast suggests that this is an allusion to the difficulty which Mithridates was supposed to have found in poisoning himself, as he had habitually taken antidotes.

338. *provincia*] Cf. Liv. II. 40 *Sicinio Volsci, Aquilio Hernici provincia evenit.* No English word exactly represents *provincia*; 'employment' or 'charge' are perhaps the nearest.

344. *rura*] referring to assignations of land, *moenia* in the following line to the foundation of military colonies.

346. *piratae*] Cf. Vell. Pat. II. 32, § 4 (*praedones*) *fudit ac fugavit, et quo maturius bellum tam late diffusum conficeret reliquias eorum contractas in urbibus remotoque mari loco in certa sede constituit. Sunt qui hoc carpant.* Also cf. Conington's note on Verg. *G.* IV. 127.

348. *quas fecimus*] a metaphor from the training of athletes. Cf. Quintil. X. 3, § 3, *vires faciamus ante omnia, quae sufficiant labori certaminum et usu non exhauriantur.*

355. *diro*] 'accursed'. Cf. 444.

ferri...amore] Cf. Hom. *Od.* XVI. 294, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

356. *summi...pili*] i.e. he was a *centurio primi pili.* This title originally belonged to a centurion of the first maniple of *triarii:* but as the distinctions between *hastati principes* and *triarii* had been abolished since the levy of Marius against Jugurtha in the winter of B.C. 107—106, we must simply understand that he was a centurion of the first rank. Cf. Mart. I. 32. 2, *grata Pudens meriti tulerit quum praemia pili.*

357. *emeriti*] 'well-deserved'. Cf. Sil. Ital. VII. 19, *surge age et emerito sacrum caput insere caelo.*

358. *referentem*] 'a witness of'. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* V. 564, and Conington's note.

quercum] the *corona civica:* in apposition with *insignia.* Weise refers to Gellius V. 6.

366. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XII. 646, *usque adeone mori miserum est?*

369. This refers to the expeditions of Caesar to Britain, which was

looked upon as another world. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* I. 66, *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.* Vell. Pat. II. 46, § 1 (of Caesar crossing to Britain) *alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem.*

370. *compescuit*] 'has curbed'.

371. If this means anything more than that the Rhine flows towards the north, it must refer to Caesar's passage of the river on the bridge described in the fourth book *de Bell. Gall.*

372. *necesse est*] quia iam hostes sumus.

374. 'standards prosperous in ten campaigns.' Cf. 283.

380. Veteres interpretes aedem aut statuam Iunonis Monetae recte intelligebant, ut sensus esset: ignis e castris incendet statuam Iunonis Monetae, praeterea *miscere* est, frangere, dissipare discindere ut II. 188, *miscentur membra*; hic in universum, perdere statuam flammis. Weise.

382. *metator*] 'camp-surveyor', quarter-master. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* XIV. § 10, *peritus metator et callidus decempeda.*

388. *promisere*] Oud cf. Stat. *Theb.* IV. 352, *trepidas sine mente sine ira promisere manus.*

391. *redeuntis*] 'springing back'.

393. *ferre*] 'were speeding him on'. The metaphor seems to be taken from a favourable wind. Cf. Cic. II. *in Verr.* V. § 105, *ita sui periculi rationes ferre ac postulare.* Verg. *Aen.* IV. 430. *Exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentes.*

397. *curvam*] high-raised on the over-hanging rocks of the Vosges.

400. *amnem*] 'the Rhone'.

403. *non ferre*] Cf. Strabo IV. 1, § 14 (189), ἐκ δὲ Νάρβωνος ἀναπλεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ μικρὸν τῷ Ἄτακι. πεζεύεται δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ τὸν Γαρούναν ποταμόν.

404. *promoto*] Italy was extended to the Var by Augustus. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* III. § 31; Strabo V. 1, § 1 (210).

406. *urget*] i. e. encroaches on.

Caurus] *Caurus* and *Zephyrus* are, as Plin. *H. N.* II. § 119 shows, not easily to be distinguished, either standing for the north-west. Of *Circius*, Plin. *H. N.* II. § 121, says: *in Narbonensi provincia clarissimus ventorum est Circius, nec ullo in violentia inferior, Ostiam plerumque recto Ligustico mari perferens; idem non modo in reliquis partibus caeli ignotus, sed ne Viennam quidem eiusdem provinciae urbem attingens.*

408. *statione*] 'roadstead', opposed to *portus*. Cf. Vell. Pat. II. 72, § 5, *exitialem tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.*

409. *quaque iacet*] Weber says that this refers to the τενάγη at Vada Sabata (now Savona) mentioned by Strabo, IV. 6, § 1 (202), but most commentators take it of the Belgic coast.

413. *destituatque ferens*] 'and as it bears it fails it'.

sidere...secundo] i.e. the moon. Cf. Petron. 119, *sidus utrumque* of the sun and moon.

414. *lunaribus...horis*] 'with the phases of the moon'.

415. *alentes*] the clouds were supposed to act as fuel to the sun. Cf. VII. 5, 6, (Titan) *adtraxit nubes non pabula flammis, sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe*, X. 258, *necnon oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque credimus.*

417. *agitat*] 'employ'.

mundi labor] 'the workings of the universe'.

419. *Nemetis*] unknown. A tribe named Nemetes is mentioned in Tac. *Ger.* 28, inhabiting the bank of the Rhine, but it is doubtful whether these can be understood here.

421. Where the Tarbellian (i.e. the land of that tribe), shuts in the sea brought in by the gently-flowing tide.

424. *excusso*] Cf. Ov. *Heroid.* IV. 43, *aut tremulum excusso iaculum vibrare lacerto.*

425. Sequani equos regere peritissimi. Weise.

426. *rostrati*]=scythed. Columella, II. 21, speaks of *falces rostratae.*

covinni] a war-chariot. Cf. Sil. Ital. XVII. 416, *Incola Thules agmina falcifero circumvenit arta covinno*, Tac. *Agr.* 35, *covinnarius eques.* It was also used at Rome as a carriage. Cf. Mart. XII. 24.

427. *fratres*] Lucan seems here to have confused the Arverni with their neighbours and rivals the Aedui. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XI. 25, *primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt, datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.* Cic. *ad Att.* I. XIX. § 2, *ad Fam.* VII. X. § 9. Sidon. Apoll. *Epp.* VII. 7, appears to be quoting from Lucan.

429. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* V. 36.

432. *Cinga*] as the only known river of this name is in Spain, the conjecture of Weber *Sulga* (the Sorgue), is highly probable, since the latter river flows into the Rhone.

pererrat] = *errat;* the word is used by Plin. VIII. § 177 = to go wrong.

434. *fert*] The Arar (Saone) being a very sluggish stream. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* I. 12. Lucan VI. 475, makes the Thessalian witches reverse the character of the streams, *Rhodanumque morantem praecipitavit Arar.* So the elder Pitt compared the coalition of Newcastle and Fox to the meeting of these rivers. 'At Lyons I was taken to see the place where the two rivers meet; the one gentle, feeble, languid, and though languid yet of no depth; the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent; but different as they are they meet at last.'

435. *Gebennas*] the Cevennes.

436—440. These verses wanting alike in taste and Latinity are not found in the old MSS.: hence they are rightly rejected by Grotius. They are also wanting in the Venetian edition of 1505.

441. *converti*] ex Gallia in Italiam transferri bellum. Weise.

443. *Comatae*] i.e. Transalpine Gaul, as Plin. *H. N.* IV. § 108, *Gallia omnis Comata uno nomine appellatur.*

444. *diro*] 'accursed' = *humano.* Weber cf. Stat. *Theb.* X. 311, *proturbat mensas dirus liquor.* Cf. also Lucan, III. 404, *structae diris altaribus arae, omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.*

445. *Teutates*] identified by the Romans with Mercurius; Hesus with Mars; Taranis with Jupiter. Cf. Mason's *Caractacus,* 'Yon central oak whose holiest stem involves the spirit of high Taranis'.

446. For the omission of *quam* after the comparative, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* III. 105, *tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas, G.* IV. 207, *neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas,* but the omission of the second *ara* is remarkable: may not the true reading be *Scythica—Diana,* according to the common σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος? Cf. Juv. III. 74, *sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior,* and Prof. Mayor's note. For Diana, Scythica or Taurica, cf. Eur. *Iph. in Taur.*

448. *dimittitis*] = 'send abroad'. so the MSS. Oud cf. Stat. *Theb.* I. 185, *augurium seros dimisit ad usque nepotes,* but *di* and *de* in composition are often confused. Cf. Conington's note on Verg. *Aen.* VI. 734.

449. *securi*] The Romans attempted to put down Druidism, cf. Merivale, History of the Romans, cap. 51.

Bardi] Weber refers to Strabo IV. iv. 4 (197) who makes a distinction between the *Vates* and *Bardi,* παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστι, βάρδοι τε καὶ οὐάτεις καὶ δρυΐδαι· βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί, οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι,

δρυίδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι, also to Amm. Marc. XV. 9, who seems merely to repeat Strabo.

451. *ab armis*] i.e. 'laid aside your arms and returned to your rites'. Cf. Ov. *Heroid.* III. 95, *ille ferox positis secessit ab armis.*

453. *nescire*] Cf. III. 416, *tantum terroribus addit quos timeant non nosse deos.*

nemora] 'deep glades in sacred groves'. Cf. Propert. V (IV). ix. 24.

457. *orbe alio*] 'in a new cycle'. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 748, *ubi mille rotam volvere per annos*, and Conington's note.

canitis si cognita] 'if you know what you sing'. For the fact that the more important idea in the sentence is expressed by the participle and not the verb cf. Thuc. I. xx. 3, οἴονται Ἵππαρχον τύραννον ὄντα ἀποθανεῖν = 'think that Hipparchus was tyrant when he was slain', and Mr Shilleto's note *ad loc.*

461. *prona*] Cf. Pomponius Mela, III. 2, *unum ex iis quae praecipiunt (Druidae) in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella meliores, aeternas esse animas vitamque alteram ad manes.*

capaces] great enough for death. Cf. Shakespeare's use of 'capable'. King John, III. i. 12 'For I am sick and capable of fears'.

464. *feroces*] i.e. inhabited by high-spirited tribes.

465. *apertum*] The meaning is the same as if he had written *aperiunt.* 'leave the Rhine's untamed banks and the world opened to barbarian hordes'. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* X. 13, *Alpes immittet apertas.*

467. *fidem fecere*] = gave him confidence.

470. *futuram*] 'bore into their minds the sense of coming disaster'. Cf. 184.

471. *nuntia*] sc. *fama.*

472. 'let loose unnumbered tongues to tell false tales.' For the sense of *praeconia* cf. Ov. *Trist.* V. I. 9, *ut cecidi perago subiti praeconia casus.*

473. Oud cf. Sil. Ital. VI. 645 foll. *ubi latis proiecta in campis nebulas exhalat inertes et sedet ingentem pascens Mevania taurum dona Iovi.*

476. *barbaricas...alas*] i.e. the squadrons of German horse.

477. *aquilas*] i.e. the standards of the legions.

479. *maior*] Cf. the description of the conscience-stricken man, Juv. XIII. 221, *tua sacra et maior imago humana turbat pavidum.*

480. *victoque immanior hoste*] 'more terrible from the conquest of his foe'. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III. 5. 40, *O magna Karthago probrosis*

altior Italiae ruinis. Some take it 'more terrible than his conquered foe'.

485. *nulloque auctore*] 'with none to confirm the ill-tidings'.

488. *invisa*] 'hateful'. Cf. Florus, IV. ii. 17, *ut in hostem decernitur*, more fully in Caes. *B. G.* I. 5.

491. *urgent*] 'they hurry the people into headlong flight'.

493. *prorumpunt*] Weise takes this actively, comparing Verg. *Aen.* III. 572 *interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem*, but it may very well be taken as neuter.

nefandas] i. e. applied to the buildings of Rome.

494. *ruina*] = tendency to fall.

497. *excedere muros*] Cf. Liv. XXII. 55, *egredi urbem.*

500. 'The huge mast with all its weight of sails comes crashing down.'

504. 'They fly—to war.'

506. *dum*] 'no not time enough to form vows for the safety they scarce could hope'.

508. Cf. Liv. I. 29, *nunc in liminibus starent nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur.*

511. Cf. the apostrophe to *Pharsalia* VII. 539—543, *aut si Romano compleri sanguine mavis, istis parce precor; vivant Galataeque Syrique, Cappadoces Gallique extremique orbis Iberi Armenii Cilices: nam post civilia bella hic populus Romanus erit,* and also Juv. III. 58 foll., in which passages we find the same thing of a later time.

520. 'Thy walls are not trusted with the safety of a single night.'

523. *saltem*] i.e. they were desperate of the present and the prodigies prevented their having any hope of the future either.

524. *manifesta fides*] 'a clear sign of yet worse doom'. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* II. 309, III. 375.

526 foll. It would be out of place to subjoin here all the similar accounts of prodigies which might be quoted in illustration of this passage: it will be sufficient to refer in general to Verg. *G. I.* 464 foll.: Ov. *Met.* XV. 782 foll.

529. *mutantem*] i.e. causing war and revolution, cf. Plin. *H. N.* II. § 92. *sed cometes numquam in occasura parte caeli est, terrificum magna ex parte sidus atque non leviter piatum, ut civili motu Octavio consule iterumque Pompei et Caesaris bello, in nostro vero aevo circa veneficium quo Claudius Caesar imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni ac deinde principatu eius adsiduum prope ac saevum.* Shakespeare *K. Rich.* II. ii. 4 'These signs forerun the death or fall of kings'. Weise would read

nutantem in the sense of 'portending', but he neglects to establish this use of the word, and we are unable to do so.

530. *sereno*] for the substantival use cf. Stat. *Silv.* III. i, 81. *laesique fides reditura sereni.* As to the evil nature of this portent, cf. Verg. *G. I.* 487, but in *Aen.* IX, 627, it appears as a good omen.

531. Oud cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VII. 21 § 1. *placet ergo nostris cometas...denso aere creari.*

534. *Arctois*] Weise remarks that lightning was supposed to appear more commonly from the south, whereas here it portended the coming of Caesar from the north.

536. *vacuum*] i.e. in the absence of the sun.

decurrere] 'to run their courses', metaphor from the races, e. g. at funerals. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 189. Tac. *Ann.* II. 7.

537. *coacto* with horns brought together, i.e. completing the disc. Cf. Ov. *Met.* VII. 179, *tres aberant noctes ut cornua tota coirent efficerentque orbem.*

538. *redderet*] i. e. reflect the light of the sun.

543. *per ortus*] sc. per quos solet oriri et per occasus fugere. Cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* IV. vi. 47, *utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae solis ad eoas currus agetur aquas.*

546. *vertice prono*] 'eddying downwards', this probably means that it was blown by the wind on to the shore of Italy.

548. *fundo*] = βυσσόθεν. *sanguineum* is part of the predicate.

550. *confectas*] 'completed'. Sulpicius cf. v. 402, *vidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas.*

552. *Thebanos*] When Eteocles and Polynices were being burnt on the same pyre the flame shot up in two separate tongues, showing that they could not be reconciled even in death. Sulpicius cf. Stat. *Theb.* XII. 429 foll.: *ecce iterum fratres: primos ut contigit artus ignis edax tremuere rogi et novus advena bustis pellitur: exundant diviso vertice flammae alternosque apices abrupta luce coruscant.*

553. *subsedit*] stopped: this sudden check caused the Alps to rock, and thus shook the snow from their summits. Such seems to be Lucan's idea.

556. *laborem*] distress.

560. Cp. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* II. ii. 17, 'A lioness hath whelped in the streets'.

565. Oud cf. Tibull I. 6, 45 foll.

566. *cecinere deos*] i. e. oracula deorum. Omnibonus.

568. *compositis*] 'laid to rest', cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. ix. 28, *Omnes composui.*

570. *venientes comminus*] 'meeting in the shock of battle'.

572. *cingebat*] 'made the circuit of the city', cf. IX. 373, *terra cingere Syrtim*, and below 594.

573. *excutiens*] 'shaking', cp. Plin. *H. N.* X. 116. *gallinae inhorrescunt edito ovo excutiuntque sese.*

pronam] 'turned downwards'.

574. *stridentes*] = *anguineas.*

577. *Megaeram*] The story will be found in the Ἡρακλῆς μαινόμενος of Euripides.

580. *Campo*] Sulla was buried in the Campus Martius, cf. II. 222, *his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere campo.*

582. *Anienis*] The corpse of Marius was disinterred by order of Sulla and thrown into the Anio.

584. *Tuscos*] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XI. 15, Liv. I. 56.

588. *pennae*] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* III. 361. *praepetis omina pennae.*

590. *sterili*] This is to be understood of a mule according to the Scholiast.

591. *infaustis*] Brouk ap. Oud understands this of certain unlucky kinds of wood, cp. Catull. XXXVI. 8. *infelicibus ustulanda lignis.* Plin. *H. N.* XIII. § 116.

593. *ambiri*] In an *amburbium* the victims were led round the city's boundaries as we know from Festus, p. 5 M.

595. *pontifices*] The chief of the four great religious colleges: the other three were the *augures*, XV *viri sacrorum* and VII *viri epulones*.

596. *minor*] 'inferior'.

Gabino] The *cinctus Gabinus* appears to have been a primitive fashion of wearing the toga kept up on sacred occasions, cp. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 612, and Conington's note.

598. Cf. IX. 993, *nullique adspecta virorum Pallas.*

599. *qui fata*] i.e. the xv viri, who had charge of the Sibylline books, cf. Tac. *Ann.* VI. 12.

600. *Almone*] Cf. Ovid *Fast.* IV. 337 foll.: Mart. III. 47; Stat. *Silv.* V. i. 223, *quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybebe ponit et Idaeos iam non reminiscitur amnes.*

602. *Titii*] A college whose rites probably represented some of the primitive worship of the Titienses. They are mentioned in Varro *L. L.* V. § 85, and Tac. *Ann.* I. 54.

604. *apicem*] Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 664, and Conington's note.

generoso] This refers to the 3 *maiores flamines* who were always chosen from among the patricians.

605. *effusam*] 'spread out in long windings'.

607. *terrae*] = *in terram*, so vi. 115 *utero demittere*. Verg. *Ecl.* II. 30, *viridi compellere hibisco*. Hor. *Carm.* I. XXIV. 18, *nigro compulerit gregi.*

608. *nomen*] i.e. *bidental.* Oud says that 2 MSS. read *numen*, which would mean 'sanctity' and has been accepted by himself, Weber and Cortius. Weber cf. Claud. *Proserp.* III. 353, *inde timor numenque loco.*

609. *electa cervice marem*] = *electum taurum.* It was held important to secure an animal with a fine neck for sacrifice. Cf. *Juv.* xii. 14.

610. *cultro*] probably ablative, to spread the salted meal on the victim's forehead with the knife held sideways. Forc. quotes Sen. *Thyest.* 688, *tangensque salsa victimam culter mola.*

611. *non grati*] the struggles of the victims were interpreted as showing the anger of the gods.

612. *premerent*] 'were holding down'.

613. *deposito*] i.e. the victim sank on its knees. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* καθεῖσα πρὸς γαῖαν γόνυ.

616. *feralibus*] 'ill-omened'. Cf. 112.

618. *color*] Cf. Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 493 foll., σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα καὶ χροίαν τίνα ἔχοντ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν χολῆς λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν.

619. *gelido*] lukewarm and clotted: the clots are denoted by *adsperso.*

622. *hostili de parte*] two parts of the liver were called *hostilis* and *familiaris pars.* Here the *hostilis pars* is that of Caesar, the other that of Pompeius. Cf. *Cic. de Div.* II. § 28. Weise.

623. *fibra*] appears to mean one extremity of the lungs: here *latet*, i.e. the lung was imperfect.

623. *limes*] That *limes* means some membrane is clear, but whether the diaphragm or some other be meant we are unable to determine, and the notes of the Scholiast and Grotius throw no real light on the subject.

624. *iacet*] 'does not throb'.

625. *produnt*] 'The caul exposes the intestines it should hide', i.e. it was split.

626. *impune*] 'without ill consequence'.

627. *increscere*] i.e. of the two lobes, probably of the liver, one was swollen and had overgrown the other. Cf. Pers. III. 32, *fibris increvit opimum pingue*.

628. *aegra et marcida*] 'sickly and flabby'.

629. 'the other beats and keeps the veins astir with rapid throb, as if possessed.'

630. *fata*] 'the destined approach'.

633. *que*]=*sed*, cf. VI. 756, where we have *nec......que* in the same way.

637. *Tages*] The founder of the art of divination in Etruria; cf. Cic. *de Div.* II. §§ 50, 51; Ov. *Met.* XV. 558 foll. Weise cf. also Mommsen Bk. I. chap. 12.

639. P. Nigidius Figulus was a Pythagorean philosopher and astrologer of Cicero's times. From the circumstances of Octavius' birth he is said to have predicted his future greatness; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94. Weise.

640. *stellarum visu*] 'astronomy'.

641. *numeris*] 'the harmonies that guide the stars'. Perhaps this refers to the relative velocities of the heavenly bodies in their orbits, which the ancient astronomers believed themselves able to ascertain by computation. These differences of speed produced the different notes in the music of the spheres; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* VI. § 18, where *numerus* refers to the seven notes mentioned before.

642. This is the Epicurean theory; cf. Hor. *Epp.* I. xii. 17, *stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent.*

cum] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 359, *madida cum veste gravatum.* 645. *longa cum veste obloquitur.*

644. This is the Stoic view; cf. Manil. IV. 49, *hoc nisi fata darent nunquam fortuna tulisset.*

646. 'Will the air grow hot and banish all coolness?'

650. 'Many men's days of doom have met at one point of time,' i.e. many are doomed to die at once in this war.

651. 'Had the baleful star of Saturn, cold in the height of heaven, kindled its deadly fires, &c.' For *frigida* cf. Verg. *G.* I. 336, *frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet.* For *nigros* cf. Verg. *G.* IV. 407, *atra tigris.*

656. *premeres*] 'if thou wert now close upon', i.e. wert in the constellation Leo.

fluerent] 'overrun'.

658. *cessant*] 'are at peace', i.e. portend no ill.

659. 'Thou who kindlest the Scorpion menacing with his fiery tail and scorchest his claws with heat;' cf. Verg. *G.* I. 33.

660. 'Kindly Jupiter is sunk deep below the horizon;' or perhaps *mitis=placatus* as Weise takes it.

664. 'Journey through the sky invisible.' *Mundus* is here the aether; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* VI. 34; Lucr. I. 73 and elsewhere.

665. *ensiferi*] Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 1153, ὅ τε ξιφήρης Ὠρίων.

668. *nomen erit*] Cf. 174—5; Thuc. III. 82.

exibit] 'shall have free course for many a year'; cf. Plin. *Epp.* II. xi. 18, *in tertium diem probationes exierunt.*

670. *pax ista*] 'the peace we seek'.

duc] 'draw out an unbroken chain of miseries'.

672. 'free henceforth through civil war alone'.

674. *premunt*] 'are upon us'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* X. 375, *numina nulla premunt.*

675. *Ogygio*] i.e. Theban; cf. Ov. *Heroid.* X. 48, *qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo.*

680. Cf. note on line I.

681. *quo*] 'to what purpose'? cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. i. 73, *nescis quo valeat nummus quem praebeat usum?* and see Mr Roby's Grammar vol. II preface page xxx ('of the predicative dative' § 5).

682. *hoste*] 'a foreign foe'; cf. Cic. *de Off.* I. § 37, *hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.*

684. *mutatur*] Cf. Catull. XI. 7, *sive qua septemgeminus colorat aequora Nilus.* For the history see chronological table.

686. *Syrtin*] For the accusative of motion *to*, without a preposition see Madv. § 232 obs. 4.

691. *bella*] i.e. the murder of Caesar.

692. *iterum*] i.e. under Octavian.

693. 'Grant me to see new shores of Pontus and a new land. I have already seen Philippi,' i.e. having seen with the eye of prophecy the battle-field of Philippi (Pharsalus) I am shocked to think that it will be again the scene of civil war. Lucan confuses Philippi and Pharsalus, and imagines that both are situated on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus; cf. VII. 847 foll. and Verg. *G.* I. 491, *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.*

695. *defecta*] 'exhausted'. Oud cf. III. 625, *defectis robore membris:* IV. 600, *defecta membra.*

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